



# SECRECY AND DEMOCRACY

The CIA in Transition

Admiral Stansfield Turner

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We have the capability to supply the information needed in all of these categories by deploying satellite-based reconnaissance systems, which, along with other intelligence techniques, will permit us to detect any substantial activity anywhere on the globe with reasonable regularity.

The place to start would be the creation of a separate intelligence agency that would be our liaison with other nations. I will call it the Open Skies Agency. Although only the OSA would release information to the world at large, we could control what information the OSA received if it was necessary to protect a certain technical collection system.

In fact I believe the benefits are so attractive that some move in this direction is inevitable. Since 1972 our Department of Commerce has been selling pictures from its civilian LandSat satellites to any nation or citizen that wants them. Some eleven countries have already built stations to receive LandSat signals directly from our satellites. In 1981, the Commerce Department filled 173,357 requests for \$100 worth or more of LandSat data from individuals or government agencies in eighty-nine countries. While LandSat does not reveal anything like the detail that military satellites do, it is still useful for agriculture, cartography, geology, hydrelogy, and oceanography and can identify such things as roads, railway tracks, airports, and depots. The world is moving inexorably into an era of openness. We have the choice of being pushed into this new era or of leading the rest of the world into it.

The magnificent capabilities of American intelligence can be employed as an important offensive weapon in our struggle for peace and security. We must, though, be willing to move with the boldness and vision that befits our heritage.

over....



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for the purpose of widening pro and con and creative professional, public and political discussion of space initiatives serving the needs of humanity.

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## Open skies a fresh challenge

One of the Defense Dept.'s most important functions is surveillance of the Earth from space. Conversely, non-military hardware such as Meteosat and Landsats monitor the weather and the surface of the Earth—its crops, rocks, forests, deserts, ice and snow buildup, flooding, mineral outcroppings, urban growth, and other phenomena observable from space. Although unfamiliar with the details, most people know that both the U.S. and the USSR have military satellite systems that keep track of each other's military might. But they see little public discussion of these systems, which form part of what arms-control experts call "national technical means." On the other hand, most writers on surveillance have praised the use of reconnaissance satellites for peace-keeping purposes, for example, to ensure compliance with arms-control agreements. Presidents Johnson, Carter, and Reagan have made supportive references to them.

In May 1978, the French delegation to the U.N. proposed the establishment of an international satellite agency to monitor (and perhaps help establish) international disarmament agreements on a non-discriminatory basis, thereby strengthening international security and confidence. The U.S. and USSR were not too happy with the French proposal, and it is unlikely that either government will support the French initiative any time soon.

But technology continues to advance. A number of countries other than the U.S. and the Soviet Union will soon be launching satellites that have some military capability.

As I wrote on this page in January France's Spot satellite, due to fly next year, will have a resolution of 10 m. and even Landsat has been upgraded from 80 to 30 m. Ten meters approaches the quality needed for spotting military targets.

Given another cycle of development, Japanese, Canadian, and various European systems including Spot could begin to gather large amounts of military data.

Indeed, we should expect market demand to produce competitive pressures for higher resolution. The military will probably exert pressure to prevent such improvement.

As long as the U.S. and the USSR had monopolistic control of surveillance-quality photos and images, release of such data could be effectively stopped. Now, given the plausible advances in civil surveillance systems, we need to think through the implications of losing that control.

More positively, we need to decide whether the Open Skies principle espoused by President Eisenhower can be used to promote world peace through greater knowledge of what is visible worldwide from Earth-observation satellites, of ever-increasing resolution.

In my January editorial, I also proposed formation of a global consortium for civil development and use of satellites for remote sensing. Included in my proposal was an implicit mechanism for control of the data in a way that should avoid confrontations. If no such control mechanism is found, our government must soon come to grips with the prospect that high-quality imagery from space, heretofore available only from systems under close government control, will be widely disseminated by commercial organizations. We should exploit this turn of events to the advantage of all peace-keeping nations, rather than see it become a new source of international conflict.

John L. McLucas, AIAA President





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### U.S. Space Policy Ready for Next Big Leap

Wil Lepkowski

(excerpt)

Space policy has its international security theme setters, but none has been so dogged over the years as Howard Kurtz, former airline executive and retired Air Force lieutenant colonel who heads War Control Planners in Washington, D.C. Kurtz qualifies for the role as space evangelist.

really are doing is preserving a high-technology arms race, that they continue to escalate it and thus endanger the world through a simple paranoiac need to control power. The monopoly has gone far enough, Kurtz believes, and it is time for an international organization to harness space technology in a campaign for global security.

Rep. George E. Brown Jr. (D.-Calif.) is in sympathy with Kurtz but says Kurtz is "25 years ahead of his time." Nevertheless, Kurtz has managed to convince enough people in official positions that the UN has adopted a proposal to establish what is called an International Satellite Monitoring Agency. This agency over the years would not only operate a string of global resource satellites for enhancing social and economic development but form a third security force that through reconnaissance satellites would observe the military activities of the two superpowers.

Kurtz had an ally in the UN's deputy secretarygeneral Robert Muller, who took the idea to then French Prime Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who, in turn, proposed it to the UN. Last summer, the UN published a report outlining the technical, legal, and financial implications of the whole idea.

The UN General Assembly is expected to discuss steps—whether by treaty or convention—by which such an agency could come into being. The U.S. and U.S.S.R. have united in opposition to the idea and so it doesn't look like the proposed agency will go anywhere, since neither wants a third power spying on it.

## **FOREIGN POLICY**

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### UNLOCKING SPACE

by Daniel Deudney

(excerpt)

Second, the superpowers should construct an internationally managed satellite reconnaissance and surveillance system. The president of War Control Planners, Inc., Howard Kurtz, has long promoted a multinational network of satellites, and the idea gained official support in 1978 when France proposed an International Satellite Monitoring Agency (ISMA). As outlined by then President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing before the U.N. General Assembly, the agency would extend the benefits of surveillance satellites to countries without space capability, would permit the U.N. Security Council to monitor crises and border disputes, and would verify the treaties banning chemical and biological warfare, as well as environmental modification for military purposes. Depending on whether ISMA obtained technology from the superpowers, a basic monitoring system would cost between \$1 billion and \$2 billion a year—more than the entire U.N. budget. The United States has vigorously opposed ISMA, arguing that it would be impossible for an agency operating by majority rule to handle sensitive issues of data interpretation. Support for ISMA has been strong among the many countries not likely to join the space club any time soon. The first question to resolve is who would have access to the satellite-generated data.

The superpowers' strong opposition to ISMA reflects a desire to continue monopolizing satellite technology. The U.S. position is, however, extremely shortsighted since the United States stands to lose most from a closing of the Open Skies. Unless satellite technology becomes more accessible, those countries excluded from its benefits may see it as a form of spying and favor a treaty that bans or limits such systems. Although ISMA's opponents protest its cost, if satellite verification of regional arms control efforts is half as successful as it has been between the superpowers, the agency could pay for itself many times

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#### GLOBAL COMPASSIONATE POWER

Military heros of the future will be men and women who risk their lives stopping wars and preventing wars from spreading, as fire-fighters risk their lives putting out fires.

There will be global support forces to assist the army of each nation defend its own borders. There will be a world security navy to prevent sea or undersea war or preparations. There will be a planet-wide aerospace force to police the airspace and assure that it will be used for peaceful purposes only. There will be a global intelligence service helping all nations to detect clandestine preparations for one nation's threat to another. There will be a world security authority capable of preventing even a superpower from producing catastrophic weapons and delivery systems. Every present specialized field of military science and command will carry the added responsibility for expanding knowledge and skills for a new strategy of war prevention bringing a sense of security to people of all nations.

Scarce human and natural resources today squandered on the arms race will be redirected to help produce food for the world's hungry . . cloth for the world's naked . . .shelter for the world's shivering . . .medicines for the world's sick . . and a future patriotic people of all nations will find worth struggling, or fighting for.

The nation providing leadership and inspiration to all nations from now on will be the one with leadership capable of (1) meeting all defense requirements and in addition (2) leading the world in the most exciting generation of creativity and experiment in history pioneering systems and institutions to help all people in the production of food, clothing, housing, energy, clean air & water, health, education and national defense. This all now sounds "impossible" as once it was "impossible" to make the moon safe for human visits or to release the power of the atom. All the world-sized tools and skills are within reach. The roadblocks are (1) the multination political interests in control of the Kremlin and (2) the multination financial interests in control of the White House, both competing in the Invisible War for their own world (political)(financial) empire. One small ray of hope:-

#### A SPACE POLICY FOR HUMANITY - - The French Space Initiative

In 1978 the President of France called upon the U.N. to study the feasibility of an allnation remote sensing satellite intelligence agency to help monitor future peace-keeping and stabilization agreements among the nations.

"The idea for an international satellite cooperative originated with Americans Howard Kurtz and his late wife Harriet, and their Washington-based organization, War Control
Planners Inc. Thanks to Dr. Robert Muller, the Kurtz proposal was passed to the French
government, which formally proposed it as a U.N.initiative in 1978. The French won approval
from the U.N. General Assembly for a feasibility study of the idea but both the U.S. and the
U.S.S.R. abstained. After three years work, an international committee of twelve experts
produced a report in 1982 and asked the General Assembly to approve its publication and
distribution. Russia and eight communist satellite nations voted NO. The United States
again abstained, joined by such odd bedfellows as Cuba, Afghanistan, Laos & Vietnam."
(William Greider in October 27,1983 ROLLING STONE)

The 123 page feasibility study of the technical, legal and financial aspects of an all-nation remote sensing satellite agency now has been published by the U.N. in five languages (French, English, Russian, Chinese, Spanish) under title

" E.83.IX.3 The Implications of Establishing an International Satellite Monitoring Agency" (US \$ 12.50 from U.N. Publications, New York N.Y. 10017 or Palais des Nations 1211 Geneva 10 Switzerland.)

This breakthrough document is now available for pro and con and creative exploration in universities, law schools, institutes of technology, seminaries, military academies . . .

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